2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

coconut wood. Generally one or two sides of the *balé* are protected by a low wall and between the house posts are built-in beds or platforms of wood with springs of bamboo, also called *balés*, where distinguished guests sit cross-legged to eat, or where, with a mattress added and screened by a curtain, they are put up for the night.

In Belaluan everybody was up even before the first rays of the sun outlined the jagged tops of the coconut palms, awakened by the raucous crowings of the fighting cocks. In the indigo semi-darkness of the dawn the women were busily sweeping the yard and bringing water from the village spring. The first thought of the men was for their pets; to line up the bell-shaped cages of the fighting cocks out on the road by the gate so that the roosters might "amuse themselves watching people go by." The cages of the cooing doves were strung up on high poles for them to enjoy the morning air and the sunshine, and the flocks of pigeons, trained to fly in circles over the house, were released for their morning exercise. As protection from birds of prey, they had small brass bells around their necks that produced various humming sounds as they flew round and round until they tired, when they came down to be fed.

After a refreshing bath the men started for the fields without breakfast, taking along a snack – rice boiled inside of little diamond-shaped containers of palm-leaf called *ketipat*. More substantial food was taken to them later if they had to remain in the fields all day, but they returned at noon for lunch if there was not much work or if the *sawas* were near. Meanwhile the women fetched sheaves of unhusked rice from the granary, spread them on the ground to dry in the sun, filled the *gebah* – the large water-basin in the kitchen – and started the fire for the day's cooking.

A kitchen is a simple roof of coarse thatch supported by four posts, with a bamboo platform at one end – the kitchen table – and a primitive mud stove at the other. Often a crude figure is modelled out of the same clay of which the hearth is made to

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

796*
782
539
796

Om. Have mercy on me, Great God (Śiva),
O benefactor of all living beings!
Free me from all evils,
Protect me, O Sada-Śiva!
(see pages 30, 41, 44)

He told us that at this point all the guests were asked to leave, including Betara Siwa and the gods of all the neighboring temples, *Dalem*, *Désa*, *Poeseh*, etc. Those who remain (*ngadeg*) are the God of the Temple (*Nagasari*) Betara Goenoeng Agoeng and Soerja. The *gegaloehs*, now empty of *widiadara-widiadari*, were replaced on the *Pengaroeman*.

Dedication of promised offerings (*Ngatoerang penaoeran*) 796*

2:30 a. m. Inside the temple, a group of people had gathered with more "promised" offerings (*penaoeran*). They had been waiting for the priest to be free to dedicate them. It was possible to do this now, for although the guest gods had gone home, the gods of Nagasari were the ones to which the promises had been made. The priest sprinkled the offerings and spoke to the gods on behalf of the supplicants. The people themselves then whispered prayers of thankfulness for their fulfilled requests, and made the gesture of reverence (*mebakti*) three time repeated. They were sprinkled and given holy water to drink and to put on their faces and hair. A final offering on the ground (*mesegeh*), and the pouring of libations finished this business of offering by individuals.

782 [796] [798]

A number of little girls, 7 to 11 years old, knelt down now to make their reverence to the gods, and to ask the priest for holy water, for they said they had not had a chance to do so earlier. It was almost three o'clock in the morning. Then, as there was no more ritual to be performed till the dawn, the weary priest laid himself down on one of the pavilions, already crowded with sleeping temple-members, and took a few hours' rest. The old priest, as rightful guardian of the temple, was sleeping upon the *Pengaroeman*, on a mat spread beside the platform on which the *gegaloehs* and the gods' regalia were kept.

[793] [513]

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
OF7 Bali OF7

consciousness of position in space develops naturally together with the use of language, and the words "kadja," "kelod," "koaeh," and "kangin" are frequently heard in the chatter of the four and five year olds. When such a group was making drawings at my house, they arranged between them which was to have the South wall, which the East, and so on.

Every Balinese sleeps with his head either to the North (in North Bali, South; see footnote, p. 2) or to the East. He may not even lie down for a moment in the opposite direction, for the feet are dirty and may not be put in the place of the head. To lie in the reversed position is said to be "lying like a dead man," although the Balinese in South Bali are not buried with their heads to the South. The implication is that only a dead man, who could not help himself, would lie in this dangerously wrong way.

Sense of Social Orientation

By imitation of their elders the children soon learn also on which "level" they should sit at formal gatherings. Within the courtyard of the Balinese house are a number of pavilions, each on a foundation of sandstone varying in height from two to four feet. On the platforms so formed are couches of bamboo, constructed between the pillars which support the roof. It is customary to sit either upon the clay floor of the foundation-platform or on the couches, which also may vary in height. Thus are provided a hierarchy of sitting-places, whose relative height may be easily ascertained, as the pavilions are without walls.

In family groups no particular attention is paid to the arrangement of levels, and a little girl does not have to stop to think whether or not she is sitting higher than grandfather. But on the advent of a visitor, especially if he be of higher caste than the family of the host, politeness requires that he be given the highest place. At a wedding which I attended of a young man of noble birth, a nephew of the Radja, or Regent of the district, the most formal rules were observed in the seating of the guests. On the floor of the highest pavilion sat the High Priests. On a near-by lower pavilion sat the men of rank, and across the court on a still lower pavilion, the women of the family, also of noble birth. Some chairs were provided for the male guests of the "advanced" type, but these were avoided by the more humble members of the group. Even those seated on chairs were on a level inferior to that where the High Priests sat, cross-legged on the floor.

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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The feeling of modesty—no other words seems to apply—attached to eating does not apply to drinking, and anyone will drink anywhere, without making a fuss about it. Similarly no shame is felt for urinating, which is done by both men and women along the public roads, in the open fields, anywhere except within the housecourt or on holy ground. But for defecating the people retire to relative privacy, "where the pigs are," out of sight. The many pigs and dogs act as scavengers, and may be relied upon to do away with all the filth.

Where there are gushing springs, bathing places are constructed, with walls dividing off the place of the women from that of the men. When the rivers are used for bathing, the sexes divide into groups, the men taking the upstream position, the women the downstream. But within each group modesty is shown, and the genitals may not be exposed even to a member of the same sex. The men cover themselves with one hand, the women lift their skirts gradually, and suddenly plunge waist deep in the water. Dressing and undressing may be done in public by both men and women, for their clothes are of such a nature that they can be changed without immodesty.*

Manifestations of the Emotional Life

The Balinese are universally afraid in the dark, and the fear of *léjaks*, living male and female sorcerers in supernatural form, is intensified between the hours of midnight and dawn, when these creatures are supposed to roam. Even grown boys and men will not visit at night unholy places such as the graveyard, the crossroads, certain trees and bridges where supernatural manifestations are frequent. They are afraid to walk along the dark village streets at night, unless accompanied, but if a man must go alone he sings in a loud voice to frighten away the *léjaks*, or to keep his spirits up. His housecourt is his haven. The encircling clay walls, the high ceremonial entrance gate, and the magic strip of wall immediately within this gate (to block the path of evil spirits) give him a feeling a security, sleeping upon the open pavilions. But he prefers not to sleep alone. If he has passed the age when he wishes to sleep next his wife, he will take one or two of his little sons to bed with him. Small children sleep with their parents, grandparents, or huddle in a group together.

* For the breasts, of course, the women show no modesty at all. It is only the region from the knees to the waist which must never be exposed. The Balinese feel about exposure of the thighs of women as Westerners feel about their breasts, and a woman in a Western bathing suit is extremely shocking to them for that reason.

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a group together. When a group of men who are strangers are passing through a village, they may take shelter for the night in the men's communal pavilion which stands by the roadside—an unprotected place. They curl up as close as possible to each other, like young puppies, the body of one curving around that of his neighbor, with often an arm or a leg thrown over him. A group may be so compact that if one turns over the whole group must turn. The language contains terms for light and heavy sleepers, but as a rule they sleep soundly and are hard to rouse. They are afraid to awaken each other, lest the soul of the sleeper be wandering. But the taboo seems to imply more danger to the one doing the awakening than the one awakened, for a boy who says "I do not dare to wake him" will show no objection if a foreigner takes upon himself the responsibility of awakening one of his fellows.

As has been mentioned, a man may not touch a woman, even his wife, before others. He may not touch a woman's clothes, nor should his clothes touch hers, as, for instance, in a trunk. If it is necessary to pack them together, the man's clothes must be on top. But in the privacy supplied by darkness the taboos are lifted. Lovers and married people may caress each other freely. Favorite caresses are the *tjioem*, the affectionate or passionate "sniff" which replaces our kiss, and the *saling ngaras*, "exchange of strokings," a term applied to the rubbing of cheek on cheek, both slowly turning their heads from side to side, so that the lips do come into play as they brush past each other. Love-scenes depicted in the paintings, and described in the literature, suggest that many of the refinements of the art of love which belong to Hindu tradition have been taken over by the Balinese. But for reasons of their own, which have already been made sufficiently clear, the Balinese do not use the reversed posture, nor may the woman be above. In sexual play only the left hand may be used, since the right is used for eating.

A woman is popularly supposed to have within her a *manik*. The term *manik* is applied to jewels, and to a sprite which sits in coconut trees, and is pursued by Kilap Krèbèk Geroedoeg, Thunder-and-Lightning, who, when he catches the *manik*, causes the coconut tree to be burnt up. But the *manik* in a woman is of a different sort. In sexual intercourse her *manik* is repeatedly "hit," and this contact causes it to become larger and larger until it becomes a child. After the birth of the child, she gets a new *manik*. It is possible, though by no means sure, that the Balinese conceive orgasm of both man

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younger brother, putting most of the heavy work upon him. But it is true that Rendah is not strong and that Dog is not very bright.

Dog and his wife Rawi have no children. This is a tragedy to the Balinese. Rendah has recently allowed them to "adopt"[1] one of his little girls, Dajoeh. It would not seem to be a very serious change for the child, as they all live together in the same court, and she, with her brothers and sisters, has always called their aunt and uncle by the same names as their mother and father, mémé and bapă. However, Dajoeh senses a difference, and follows Rawi about, always at her heels like a young colt.

The eighth child of Rendah's father was a girl, Ketoet Djinar, who married and went to live in Njéstanan, a different bandjar of the same village. She is in and out of Rendah's house, helping when there is heavy work with the harvest, rice-pounding, or special preparations for a temple festival. But she neither eats nor sleeps there regularly.

The mother of all these children, whose name, she remembered, was Kintil, is of course also a member of the household. She continues to sleep in the place of honor, the balé săkănem, which in her husband's time she shared with him. Although the old man had been for several years in his dotage, unable to fulfill his functions in the village council (where he was represented by Rendah), and rather pushed aside by his grandchildren, Kintil is still a vigorous old woman in full possession of her faculties, respected and esteemed by all the household.

On the plan of Rendah's house (fig. 4) it will be seen that of the space enclosed by the walls the "highest," that is, the northeast corner, towards the mountains and the abode of the gods, is reserved for the household shrines. The balé săkănem is an elevated open pavilion, on a stone foundation, whose thatch roof is supported by six wooden pillars. There is a brick wall at the back, the other three sides are open. The space between four pillars forms a sleeping-place, a raised platform built between the pillars. Here the grandmother sleeps, sometimes with one or two of the children.

The metèn is a house with mud-walls enclosing two sleeping platforms, and outside, on the porch formed by the overhanging roof, are two more sleeping places, with curtains of red print material. Newly married young people, and young unmarried girls sleep in such inner rooms—they have reasons for privacy, or must be protected. Here the two girls Ngetis and Dajoeh usually sleep. Rendah sleeps on the porch, in the "higher" bed, towards the east, often with one of his little sons. His wife occupies the other outer bed. The baby sleeps with her, or in fact any of the younger

[1] The term is anak ngidih, "asked-for person."

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

children, who have no fixed sleeping places, but are apt to visit about with their elders.

In the balé siang-sangā, which is a sort of family sitting room, also without walls, a place is found for the younger brother Dog and his wife Rawi. There are three platforms, and the children may also sleep here if they please. When guests are spending the night Dog and Rawi give up to them the largest bed, on a slightly higher level, to do them honor.

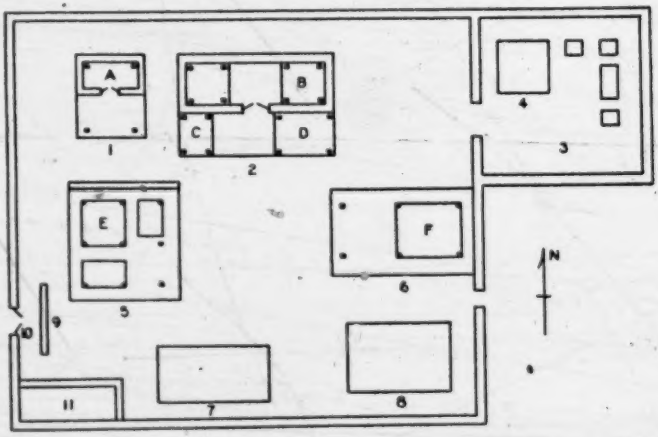

FIG. 4. Plan of the house of Rendah. 1, Balé Sākāpat, pavilion with four posts; 2, Metèn, house with inner room; 3, Sanggah, household temple; 4, Balé Piasan, pavilion for offerings; 5, Balé Siang-sangā, pavilion with nine posts; 6, Balé Sakanem, pavilion with six posts; 7, Paon, kitchen; 8, Djineng, rice-storing place; 9, Aling-aling, magic wall; 10, Kori, gateway; 11, Pigs. A, Koti; B, Dajoeh, Ngetis; C, Rieh, Tjeremé; D, Rendah, Adā; E, Dog, Rawi; F, Kintil, Dapet.

Koti, the eldest sister who was married and divorced, sleeps in a little room in the balé sākāpat, which is reserved for her.

The kitchen stands opposite to the metèn. East of this is the high pointed-roofed djineng, the rice-storing place. Behind are the pigs and fowls. Immediately opposite the entrance gate, blocking the court from the view of passersby and the attacks of evil spirits, is the aling-aling, a single strip of wall. The gate is a sort of stile, covered over by a thatched roof—you go up steps, through a doorway, and down more steps onto the roadway without. Cut into the mud wall on either side of the gateway are small niches used for offerings.

I [68 cont.]
342 over a middle section (3). There is little to say about the roof.

3. Van Hasselt, ibid., p. 154.

MI
342 It is often very high in proportion to the house. The shape of the roof of Malayan houses is peculiar. The ridge is concave in the middle and then runs upward into points at the ends.

We have said enough about the houses on piles and shall now briefly discuss houses on the ground.

d. Houses on the Ground, Their Layout

B
342 Before proceeding, however, we shall say a few words about
351 the houses of the Balinese. Dr. Jacobs reports that the houses,
364 umah, and yards are places for the collection of filth, unhealthy
417 and inhospitable sties. Fortunately, the Balinese spend a lot of time outside the house or sit and sleep in the pavilion pendopó (Bal. balé) in the yard, where many even spend the night. A Balinese yard, natah, is a large square surrounded by a wall, tembok, of clay one and a half to two meters high. A narrow opening is the entryway [69] to the square, which is entirely filled with little houses made of wood or clay or kadjang matting and covered with atap, which represent the living quarters, as many dwellings as there are households, which usually all belong to
B one family. The space free of these little houses is filled with
231 garbage, human and animal excrement, piles of leaves, etc., and what is not eaten by pigs, chickens, and dogs wandering around stays where it is and gradually forms a dunghill. The huts themselves are small, stuffy, and low. Light enters through the door, and the cracks in roof and walls serve as ventilators. In the
B
342 center of the square, there is a kind of pavilion where guests are
574 received and where they sleep; this is the balé mamběng, which
● 513 in cleanliness and decoration contrasts favorably with the rest.